

ON SOME WORDS DERIVED FROM
LANGUAGES OF N. AMERICAN INDIANS

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[From the Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1872.]

ON SOME WORDS DERIVED FROM LANGUAGES OF N. AMERICAN INDIANS.

By J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

When two individuals or companies, each ignorant of the other's language, are brought together and seek to maintain intercourse, an artificial dialect is likely to be formed as their medium of communication. Something like elective affinity takes place among the elements of speech. Words and formatives enter into new combinations and crystalize in new shapes. Each language borrows from the other what it can most readily assimilate to itself. One contributes a primary verb, to which the other gives an adverbial prefix, or imparts causative or intensive expression. One supplies the greater number of words, the other more largely influences grammatical construction. Aspirates, sibilants, gutturals, or combinations of consonants, which present difficulties to speakers of either language, are eliminated from the new. Of such artificial dialects, the "pigeon-English" of China, the "talkee-talkee" of the negroes of Surinam, and the "Chinook jargon" or trade language of Oregon, are familiar examples. The last, founded on the Chinook, borrows largely from English and French, with some contributions from the Spanish; but words of European origin have received such modifications of sound, accent, and meaning, that their identity is nearly lost. For

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instance, *oluman*, in this jargon, means 'father.' Its etymological relations are not apparent until we learn that the Chinook alphabet has no *d*, and that *oluman* comes as near as Chinook organs of speech permit to the English 'old man.' Why *Bostun* stands for 'American' is plain enough, but how *Pasaiuks* came to signify 'Frenchmen' would not be so clear, without the knowledge that English or French *r* is impossible to a Chinook, who must substitute for it either *l* or *s*, and so makes of 'Paris,' *Pasai*; to which giving the animate-plural termination, he has *Pasai-uks*, 'Parisians.' *Hakatshum* is a milder form of 'handkerchief,' and *lucié* 'old woman' is not so far as it appears to the eye to be, from the French 'la vicille.'

In the Negro-English of Surinam, English and Dutch words, "pared of inflections and softened by vowel terminations," assume African forms. 'Because' becomes *bikasi*; 'the other one' is *tar'rawan*; to 'fall down' is *fadom*; *hópo* means 'to rise' (literally, 'to up'), and *hópo bakka* stands in the Creole New Testament for 'resurrection'; 'to undress' is *póeloe krósi* (to pull clothes).

Lescarbot (*Hist. de la Nouv. France*, 1612, p. 694) says that the Souriquois of Nova Scotia had "a particular language which was known only to themselves," but, "to accommodate themselves to us, they speak to us in a language with which we are more familiar, wherein *there is much Basque mingled*." Twenty years later, a missionary (Paul Le Jeune) wrote from Canada to his superiors, that the French at Montreal conversed with the Indians in a jargon (un certain baragouin) that was neither Indian nor French: but which the Frenchmen who spoke it supposed to be Indian, and the Indians believed to be good French.

Through the medium of some such jargon many words have been transferred from the aboriginal languages of America to ours. Nearly all these words have undergone some change of form or have received new meanings, and few would now be recognized by Indians speaking the dialects from which they were originally derived.

Take for example the word *wigwam*, adopted by the Eng-

lish as the name of an Indian lodge or cabin. To the Indian this word denoted the dwelling-place *of others*. When he spoke of his own lodge, he said *nēk* ‘my dwelling place’, ‘my home’; the lodge of the person to whom he spoke was *kēk* ‘thy home’; that of a third person, *wēk*, and with the plural, possessive suffix, *wekucom* or *wekurom* ‘their home,’ literally ‘their co-dwelling-place.’ The initial *n*, *k*, and *w* stand, respectively, for the pronouns of the first, second, and third persons; and the final *k* of *nēk* and *wēk* is a grammatical formative. This being understood, the likeness of *wigwam* to the Greek *οἶκος* is less noteworthy than to some philologists it has seemed to be.

Totem, a word of northern-Algonkin origin, appears likely to be adopted — with its derivatives, *totemic* and *totemism*, — not only into the English but into the universal language of scholars. It is already used, and with an enlarged denotation, by German and French as well as British writers, and finds special favor with the comparative mythologists. In the last volume of Chambers’s Encyclopædia a writer alludes to the “totems” of Australian tribes, South Pacific islanders, and peoples of Central Asia, and suggests that “many of the mythical traditions of ancient Greece admit of a reasonable meaning, if we suppose that there were anciently in Greece tribes with *totems* — bull, bear, and lion tribes, snake, ant, and dragon tribes.” This as it may be. Just now we have only to do with the word itself and its etymology. It was, I believe, first brought to the notice of English readers by the Indian interpreter and trader, John Long, in his “Voyages and Travels,” published in 1791. In his account of the Chipeways, he says that “one part of their religious superstition consists in each of them having his *totam* or favorite spirit, which he believes watches over him. This *totam* they conceive assumes the shape of some beast or other, and therefore they never kill, hunt, or eat the animal whose form they think this *totam* bears.” Long coined the word “totamism.” Dr. Schoolcraft, who gave currency to the forms “totem” and “totemic” says (in the first volume of “Collections respecting the Indian Tribes,” p. 420), that *totem* is “a

derivative from *dodaim*, a town or village:" to which there is only this objection, that no such word as "*dodaim*," meaning "town or village," is found in the Chippeway or any other Algonkin language. Gen. Cass, in a well-known article in the *North American Review* (vol. xxii., p. 63), explained this name as denoting "the representation of the animal from which the tribe is named. . . The figure of this sacred animal is the *Totem*, which every individual of the tribe affixes, whenever his mark is necessary, or wherever he wishes to leave a memorial of himself. This beloved symbol adheres to him in death, and is painted upon the post which marks his grave." The Indian *totem* is neither a "favorite spirit," nor merely 'the representation' of an animal. It may be better defined as the animal, vegetable, or other object, real or imaginary, whose name or symbol distinguishes one family (*gens*) from others of the same tribe or nation, and which to that family is usually an object of superstitious regard. The name of the *totem* becomes a family name, and its representation may be regarded as the ancestral coat of arms. "It differs not from our institution of surnames"—says John Tanner (or his editor, Dr. James.)—"except that the obligations of friendship and hospitality, and the restraint upon intermarriage, which it imposes are more scrupulously regarded."² Though unquestionably of Algonkin origin, *totem* is not an Indian word. It comes from a root signifying 'to have, to possess,' and in the passive, 'to belong to.' In the Massachusetts dialect, as written by Eliot, this root appears in the primary verb *oht-au* 'he has,' the verbal *ohtoönk* 'a having,' a possession, *ohtenk* 'a field' (appropriated, or in cultivation), *wut-ohtu* 'his belonging,' used by Eliot for "an inhabitant of" or "belonging to" a tribe, family, or village, and *wut-ohtim-oïn* that *to which* a person or place belongs, the village, family, or tribe he *is of*. The prefix *oo*, before a vowel *oot* or *wut*, represents the pronoun of the third person. The 'm, after the root, is possessive. *Totem*

¹ So, the Abbé Domenech, *Voyage Pittoresque dans les Grands Déserts du Nouv Monde* (Paris, 1862), p. 303: "Le mot *totem* est dérivé d'un terme générique des langues indiennes du Nord qui veut dire *ville* ou *village*," etc.

² Tanner's Narrative, p. 213.

is a contraction of *wutohtimoïn*, or rather of the Chippeway equivalent of the verb *wutotemu*. The initial *t* belongs to the prefix, not to the root. In the Chippeway, Baraga gives

“*odaiim*, his property,” inanimate.

“*odáian*, his dog” [literally, his animate property].

“*odéna*, village, town, city” [literally, his belonging].

“*nind odem*, my Indian family-mark;”

“*od odem an*, his family mark,”—which corresponds to the Mass. *wut ohtim oin* (Eliot).

“*odé* [Mass. *wuttah*] his heart,” is probably from the same root.

This word appears curiously disguised in Lescarbot’s *Histoire de la Nouv. France* (ed. 1612, p. 683). The Souriquois (Micmacs), he says, call the devil by the name *aoutem*; and their soothsayers and diviners, *aoutmoins*. Membertou, a Souriquois sachem, himself one of these *aoutmoins*, used to wear about his neck the badge of his profession, “a three-cornered purse, covered with embroidery, in which he kept I know not what, of the size of a walnut, which he said was his demon, called *Aoutem*.” Father Biard, in the Relation of 1611, mentioned these *aoutmoins* of l’Acadie, “qui sont comme leurs prestres.” With the prenominal prefix, *wut*, Micm. *oot*, *aoutem* becomes *ootaoutem*, and *aoutmoin* is *ootaoutmoin*, the Mass. *wutohtimoin*. What Lescarbot mistook for Membertou’s “demon” was doubtless his *totem* and “great medicine.”

The names which the English and Dutch gave to the bead-work and shell-money of the Indians,—*wampum*, *peg*, *zee-wand* or *seawan*, etc.,—were all of Algonkin derivation, yet none of them was used by the Indians in their own language in the sense in which it was understood by the colonists. Shell-beads were of two colors, *wompi* ‘white,’ and *sucki* ‘dark-colored, blackish or violet.’ The white were the more common, and about half the value of the dark. When used as money, beads were usually strung, and the strings were measured by hand-breadths or fathoms: but sometimes they passed from hand to hand unstrung, by count. White beads were called, collectively, *wompam*, or *wompanne*, ‘the white.’ *Ompeag* was a generic suffix to denote a ‘string’ of shell-

money, 'strung beads.' *Wompompeag* was 'a white string' or 'fathom of White;' *suckompeag* 'a blackish string' or 'fathom of black.' Unstrung beads were said to be *seahwoün* 'loose,' 'scattered.' The English gave the names of white (*wompam*) and of strung white beads (*wompompeag*), indiscriminately, to *all* shell money; the Dutch called it all 'unstrung' (*seahwoün*), *zeewand*. *Peag* is not found as an independent word in any Indian language.

For Indian corn and its preparations we have a group of adopted names, all mutilated or corrupt. *Maize* is supposed to be a Haytian word, and its meaning is unknown. It was variously written, by the discoverers of America and their chroniclers, *mahiz*, *mais*, *mays*, *maisi*, etc.

Min, *minne*, was the Algonkin generic name of small fruit of every description — berry, nut, or grain. It was seldom, if ever used as an independent word, but enters into the composition of a great number of specific names. *Hominy* is a form of *minne*, with an emphasizing aspirate — *h'minne* — to denote *the* grain, par excellence, i. e. maize; but in Virginia and New England this name was restricted by the English to one and the most common preparation of maize. In Norwood's "Voyage to Virginia," 1649, *homini* is described as "the corn of that country, beat, and boiled to mush." Josselyn, in "New England's Rarities" (p. 53), says, that after the first flour had been sifted from the pounded corn, "the remainder they call *homminey*; which they boil upon a gentle fire till it be like a hasty pudden."

Succotash is a corruption of the Indian *misikquatash* *m'sickquatash*, R. W.; Abn. *mesikwotar*, green corn in the ear, 'boiled whole'; but it now stands for "green maize and beans boiled together."

Samp, — *nasamp* of Wood's Vocabulary (1634) and Narr. *nasàump*, — means 'softened by water.' Wood translates it by "pottage;" Roger Williams, by "a kind of meal pottage, unparched." The name, however, belonged to every kind of 'spoon meat,' *bouillon*, or porridge, and not exclusively to that which was made from corn.

Strachey gives *asapan'* for the Virginian name of "a hasty

pudding," and Rasles has *ntsa"ba"n'* "sagamité"; both equivalent to the Narraganset *nasaump*. Hence the Dutch *sapaen* and *suppawn*. Van der Donck, in a "Description of New Netherland" (1656), says that the "pap or mush which in the New Netherlands is called *supaen*" is "the common food of the Indians," and Campanius (1702) describes the "sappaun" of the Indians of New Sweden.

Pone, a name given, in the middle and Southern States, to bread made from corn meal, comes from the participle of a verb meaning 'to bake' or 'roast'; in Massachusetts, *appoun*, *apwoun*, 'baked'; Abnaki, *aba"n* 'bread.' Capt. John Smith gives *pon'ap*, Strachey *appauns*, as the Virginian name for bread: White (1634) and Norwood (1649) write it in the modern form, *pone*. This name has not been generally adopted in New England.

The generic *minne*, *min*, enters into the composition of the Virginian name *putchamin* (J. Smith) or *pessemmin* (Strachey),—now, *persimmon*. *Persimenas* are mentioned with "other dainty fruits," in the "Description of New Albion," 1648. Strachey calls them "a reasonably pleasant fruit," when fully ripe. *Assiminier* is the form given by the French of Canada and Louisiana to the Algonkin name of the papaw, hence, Adanson's genus *Asimina*; but the French missionaries in Illinois, who first described the fruit, wrote, more accurately, *racemina*³ and *rassi-mina*,—the prefix (Ill. *rassi*) meaning "divided lengthwise in equal parts."

The common hickory-nut was called *pâcan*, a general name for all hard-shell nuts, meaning 'that which is cracked with an instrument'—by a stone or hammer. Strachey's Virginian vocabulary has "*paukanns*" for "walnuts." Baraga, for the Chippeway, "*pagân*, pl. *pagânag*, nuts, walnuts, hazel-nuts." At the west and south, this name, as *pacunes*³ and modern "*pekan*" and "*pekan nut*," has been appropriated to a single species, the fruit of the *Carya olivæformis*.

The thin-shelled nut of the shag-bark hickory (*Carya alba*) was distinguished by northern Algonkins as one 'to be cracked

³ Father Marest's letter from the Illinois, 1712, in Kip's *Jesuit Missions*, 198.

with the teeth' (Abn. *s'kōskadāmenne*). Descendants of the Dutch settlers in and near New York still call this nut *Cuskatominy*, *Cruskatominy*, or as Michaux writes it, "*Kisky Thomas*" nut (N. A. Sylva, i. 123).

Hickory is from the Virginian *pawcohicora* (Strachey) *pawcohicora*, J. Smith), the name neither of the tree nor the nut, but of "a kind of milk or oily liquor" pressed from the pounded kernels.⁴ "*Pokickory*" is named in a list of Virginian trees, in 1653, and this was finally shortened to "*hickory*."

The rude sled on which Indians move their goods from place to place, bring home their furs or game, and drag their wood, is called by the Chippeways *odában* or *odabának*, literally 'something drawn'; by the Abnakis, *odaⁿbaⁿgen* 'instrument for drawing,' 'or that on which something is drawn.' From this (or its equivalent in northern Algonkin dialects) come two dissimilar provincial names,—the Canadian *Tarbogin*, sometimes called *tarbognay*, which Hind (Exploration of Labrador, i. 280) describes as "a little sledge upon which people in winter amuse themselves by descending hills covered with snow," and the *Pung* of New England, a one-horse sleigh, usually of rude construction. The transition from *odaⁿbaⁿgan* to "*tarbogin*" is easy enough, but the reduction to "*pung*" may require explanation. A hundred years ago, a one-horse sleigh—whether "*jumper*" or "*cutter*"—was called in Massachusetts and Connecticut a "*Tom Pung*,"—written and pronounced as if the syllables were independent words. A writer in Dennie's "*Farmer's Museum*," in 1798, introduces the name, in a description of Roxbury, Mass., as

— "that famed town which sends to Boston mart
The gliding *Tom Pung* and the rattling cart."

In course of time the prænomen was dropped and "*pung*" is all that remains of *odaⁿbaⁿgan*.⁵

⁴ "*Pokahichory* . . . is walnuts beaten small, then washed from the shells with a quantity of water, which makes a kind of milke."—Strachey's Hist. of Travaile into Virginia, pp. 99, 100.

⁵ Cooper, in a note to *The Pioneers* (ch. i.), gives "*pung* or *low-pung*," as the common American name of a one-horse sleigh.

Tomahawk is corrupted from the Indian name for a hatchet, or axe. The first definition in Webster's dictionary, "a wooden club two feet or more in length, terminating in a heavy knob," belongs to the (Chip.) *pakamâgan* or "pug-gamuggan," a war-club, literally, 'striking instrument'—the "casse tête" of French writers,—and not to the tomahawk, which, as its name denotes, was always a 'cutting instrument.' Capt. Church in his account of Philips's War speaks of the Indian "*Tomhog* or wooden cutlash,"—but the name *tumhege* or *tomhegan*, which was corrupted to "tomhog," "tommy-hawk," and "tomahawk," was generally given to iron hatchets of European manufacture. It is of eastern Algonkin origin.

Papoose is defined by Webster as "the Indian name of a child." Dr. Bartlett, on the authority of Roger Williams, gives its meaning, "among the native Indians of New England, a babe, or young child," adding, that it is "applied by the whites to Indian infants in general." This is unquestionably correct, and Prof. De Vere (*Americanisms*, p. 26) was misled by the alleged "discovery that there is no such word in any Algonkin dialect, and that *papoose* is nothing more than an imperfect effort to pronounce the English word babies."

Roger Williams's Key has: "*Papods*, a child; *nippâpoos*, my child;" Stiles's Pequot vocabulary (MS.) "*pouppous*, an infant new-born;" Wood's "Nomenclator" (in *New England's Prospect*, 1634), "*pappouse*, a child," and "*pesissu*, a little man." The latter indicates the etymology. *N'papoos* means 'my very-little one,' 'my tiny one.' The root means 'small:' Mass. *pe-u* 'it is small:' diminutive, *peasin* 'it is very small;' intensive, *pâpcas-in*; and with animate subject, *papeus-isu* and *papeississu* (Eliot) 'he is very small.' Eliot has *peisses* for 'infant,' 'child:' with intensive reduplication this becomes *papeisses*, corrupted to "pappoose." With *pe-ississu* corresponds the Abnaki *piwesssi* 'he is small,' which with the reduplication is *papiwesssi*. The word does not appear to have been generally used by the Algonkins of the northwest though the root is found in every dialect; e. g. in Chip. *biwi* 'small,' as a prefix; *biwisse* 'in small pieces' (as

for example, crumbs of bread), by reduplication, *babiwisse*; *babe'nag* 'a little more;' *babiwigi* 'he has small limbs,' *babiwisi* 'he has small feet,' etc. (Baraga).

Canticoy, though not found in Webster's dictionary, was once a common word in New York and New Jersey, and "is still used," as Dr. Bartlett notes, "by aged people, to denote a social gathering or dancing assembly." It is from the Algonkin, meaning, originally, 'to dance *and* sing.' Strachey, in his "Historie of Travaile into Virginia" (Hakl. Soc. ed., p. 61), describes the solemn feasts of the Powhatans, at which "the whole country, men, women, and children, come together to their solemnities," "all to sing and dance about it, in a ring, like so many fairies, with rattles and shouts,"—"all singing very timeable." In his "Dictionarie of the Indian Language," he gives:

"*Kantokan*, to dance.

Kantikantie, [to] dance and sing."

Denton, in his Description of New York (1670), quoted by Dr. Bartlett, mentions the Indian "*canticus*, or dancing matches;" and the author of the Broad Advice (Breedon Radt), in 1649, tells how an Indian, after "having received a horrible wound," asked permission to "*kinte-kaeye*,—being a dance performed by them as a religious rite," &c. Roger Williams (*Key*, p. 172) writes the name of "the chiefest idol of all, for sport and game," *Kitteickauck*, "where many thousands, men and women meet, [and] where he that goes in danceth in the sight of all the rest." Campanius, in his translation of Luther's Catechism into the language of New Sweden (Stockholm, 1696), made a curious mistake. Misled by the fact that the *kintekaié* was sometimes practised as a religious ceremony, he employed the adjective *kintika* ("chintika") in the sense of 'religious,' 'sacred,' 'holy;' e. g. *sachiman chintika* 'priest' (religious sachem), *chintikat* for "hallowed be" in the first petition of the Lord's prayer, and *chintika Manetto* as the name of the third person of the Trinity.

Among the English colonists of Virginia, a member of the provincial Council or other government official was popularly

designated as a *cockarouse*. Capt. John Smith (*Hist. of Virginia*, p. 23) says that the tribes subject to Powhatan had each "a severall commander, which they call *Werowance*,—except the *Chickahamaneans*, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants, or their Elders called *Caw-cawaassoughes*."⁶ In another place (p. 38) he mentions the "*Caucarouse*," as a "captain:" but the etymology of the name, as well as the sense in which it was adopted by the English, shows that it is better translated by "councillor" than by "captain." "A *cockarouse* says Beverly (*Hist. of Virginia*, b. 3, ch. 2), "is one that has the honor to be of the king's or queen's council, with relation to the affairs of government." In *cawcawwasough* (= *cau'cau-as'u*) I find the origin — hitherto undetected — of the word *Caucus* and its derivatives. "This noun," wrote Mr. Pickering, in 1816, "is used throughout the United States as a *cant* term for those meetings, which are held by different political parties, for the purpose of agreeing upon candidates for office, or concerting any measure which they intend to carry at the subsequent *public* or *town-meetings*." Gordon (*Hist. of the Am. Revolution*, vol. i., p. 365) remarks, under the date of 1774, that "the word *caucus* and its derivative *caucusing* are often used in Boston;" that "it is not of novel invention"; for, that "more than fifty years ago," i. e. before 1724, "Mr. Samuel Adams's father and twenty others, *one or two from the north end* of the town, where all the ship business is carried on, used to meet, make a *Caucus*, and lay their plans for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power." From this statement, Mr. Pickering strangely enough drew the inference "that these meetings were *first held* in a part of Boston where 'all the ship business was carried on'," and he "therefore thought it not improbable that *Caucus* might be a corruption of *Caulkers*, the word 'meetings' being understood." However numerous and influential the Boston ship-caulkers may have been, even in 1724, it is hardly probable that "one or two" of them, coming "from the north end" to meet Mr. Adams and nearly twenty others in the south part of the town, thereby conferred a name of the club.

⁶ Comp. Strachey, *Hist. of Travels into Virginia*, p. 62.

If the name was so given, how happened all memory of its origin to be lost—even to the Adamses—before 1763? In that year John Adams, in his Diary, gives an account of “the *Caucus-club*”—not ‘*Caulkers*’—which met “at certain times in the garret of Tom Dawes, the adjutant of the Boston regiment,” and which numbered among its members Samuel Adams, William Cooper, and other Boston worthies. In the same paragraph, Mr. Adams uses “those *caucuses*,” in the plural (J. Adams’ *Works*, ii. 144). In 1774, Gordon, after “repeated applications to different gentlemen,” could obtain no “satisfactory account of the origin of the name.” A less plausible conjecture than Mr. Pickering’s was made by a writer in the Knickerbocker Magazine, and cited, sub verbo, in the last revision of Webster’s Dictionary. According to this writer, “the rope-makers and calkers,” after the Boston massacre, so called, formed a society, “at the meetings of which inflammatory addresses were delivered,” &c., and “the tories in derision called these assemblies *calkers*’ meetings, and the term was at length corrupted to *caucus*.” But the “Boston massacre” occurred in 1770,—and, as has been seen, John Adams, who was not a tory, wrote of “caucuses” and a “caucus club” in 1763.

The verb from which *cawcawwassough*, *cockarouse*, and *caucus* are derived means, primarily, ‘to talk to;’ hence, ‘to give counsel, to advise, to encourage,’ and ‘to urge, promote, incite to action.’ Compare, with *caucau-āsu*,

Abnaki *kakesw-mā*, he incites, arouses, encourages.

Chip. *gagānsoman*, “he exhorts, encourages, incites, persuades, urges, animates, instigates, counsels, pushes him to do something.” (Baraga.)

gāgisoman, he appeases, pacifies.

“Cawcawwassough” or *caucauas*, the active-intransitive or verb-adjective form, was ‘one who advises, urges, encourages, pushes on,’ ‘a promoter,’ a *caucusser*.

What New Englanders managed by a caucus, the Virginians preferred to accomplish by a *barbecue*. The French translator of Burnaby’s Travels in America (published in 1775), thinking some explanation of this Virginian word was

required, informed his readers, by a note, that “cet amusement barbare consiste à fouetter les pores jusqu’ a la mort, pour en rendre la chair plus delicate :” but the English author, in a third edition, corrects his translator, by stating that “a Barbecue is nothing more than a porket killed in the usual way, *stuffed with spices* and rich ingredients, and *basted with Madeira wine*”! “It is esteemed”—he adds,—“a very great delicacy ; and is, I believe, a *costly dish*.”

This word—like “canoe,” “tobacco,” “hammock,” and several others—appears to have been imported to Virginia from the Antilles. Oviedo (Hist. gen., lib. vii., c. 1) mentioned *barbacoa* as the West Indian name of a scaffolding or covered platform for drying maize. In the Relation of De Soto’s expedition to Florida, in 1538 (translated by Hakluyt, 1609), “a loft made with canes, which they build to keep their maize in, which they call a *barbacoa*,” is described as “an house set up in the air upon four stakes, boorded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles.” (Virginia richly valued, &c , ch. xi.)

As early at least as 1665, “barbique” and “barbicuing” were in use among the English residents of Guiana, to denote the Indian method of curing meat or fish, by laying it on a hurdle or wooden gridiron supported by four stakes driven into the ground, and exposing it to the heat of the sun or the smoke of a slow fire. An English writer in 1665, describing the punishment of a criminal who had attempted to murder the Captain-general of Guiana (Lord Willoughby of Parham), says: “His naked carcase was ordered to be dragged from the gaol . . . to the pillory at Toorarica, where a *Barbique* was erected . . . His bowels [were] burnt under the Barbique ; . . . his head to be cut off and his body to be quartered and, when *dry-barbiqued* or dry-roasted after the Indian manner, . . . to be put up at the most eminent places of the colony.” A Dutch voyager to Berbice, in 1695, describes this Indian grille, writing the name “*berbekot* ;” and a similar process of dry-curing is still called “*barbacoting*” by the English and Indians of Guiana.⁷

⁷ See Hillhouse’s Notes on the Indians of Brit. Guiana, reprinted in Journal of the R. Geogr. Society (1832), vol. ii., p. 230.

Those who are familiar with the pictures of De Bry and other early collections of voyages to America, must remember the frequently recurring representations of the *barbacoa*,—a frame of parallel bars, resting on cross pieces which are supported at the ends by upright stakes. Beverly copied from De Bry one of these illustrations of the Indian “manner of roasting and *barbecueing*,” and evidently supposed this word to belong to the language of the Indians of Virginia: “This they, and we also from them,” he says, “call *barbecueing*” (Hist. of Virginia, ed. 1722, p. 150). But Strachey, though he describes the manner of preserving fish and flesh by roasting it upon hurdles,” or “broiling it long, on hurdles over the fire,”—and mentions also the “high stage” or “scaffold of small spelts, reeds, or dried osiers, covered with mats, . . . where, on a loft of hurdles, they lay forth their corn and fish to dry,”—the *barbacoa* of the Antilles and of Florida,—does not give its Indian name, and in his “Dictionarie” of the language has, for “drying by fire or otherwise,” *tsetewh* and *gaukenates*, but not *barbecue* or any related word.

‘Barbecue’ is not the only term which the Indian grille has contributed to European languages. The French nouns *boucan* and *boucanier*, with the corresponding verb *boucaner*, and the English ‘buccan’ and ‘buccancer,’ come from the Brazilian (Tupinamba) name of the same contrivance for curing or dry-roasting meat. Jean de Lery (*Voyage fait en la Terre du Brésil*, Rochelle, 1578, p. 153), describes the construction and use, by the Tupinambas, of “the great wooden grilles, called in their language *boucan*,” which were to be seen in every Indian village, garnished with meats and fish, and often with large pieces of human flesh—the savages’ daintiest fare—drying slowly over fire. The word was already naturalized in France in the middle of the 17th century. A Jesuit missionary in 1652, says that the Abnakis of Canada [and Maine] preserve their meats in the Indian fashion “c’est à dire, qu’ils firent *boucaner* ou seicher à la fumée,” and “ce *boucan* fut leur unique mets” The West Indian “buccancer” was, originally, a hunter of wild cattle, who preserved the flesh for his own consumption or for sale, by *boucanning*.



